THE
NATION

APRIL 6, 1957 . . 25c

Banish Hunger From Tomorrow . . *William Hammatt Davis*

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

A Curious Anomaly

Dear Sirs: Professor Alfred R. Lindesmith has again "hit the nail on the head" in his perceptive analysis in your March 16 issue of the effects of the Narcotics Control Act of 1956 on the general problem of narcotics traffic and addiction. It is indeed, as he points out, a curious anomaly that the Act will result in further punishment of the victim of an incurable and irresistible disease, and at the same time, if it has any effect at all on the traffic in drugs, that effect will be to make the product scarcer, the prices higher and the profits greater, continuing the vicious cycle.

A side angle of the peculiar recent development in our social system of dependence on political authority is brought out in this field, as in others, in the blind trust the public is beginning to place on the reports of Congressional investigating committees. These have become in some cases a substitute for individual thought, with the public naively assuming that the investigating committee is always entirely thorough in its investigations and completely unbiased in its recommendations. While this is undoubtedly often true, an attitude of healthy skepticism with due regard for the political ambitions of the investigators is always indicated, especially with the high visibility some such committees strive to attain.

Certainly, no one reading Professor Lindesmith's comments with an unbiased mind could disagree with the evidence he presents that the police approach to control of narcotics traffic is futile and needs to be replaced by a more sensible attitude. This is a medical problem with more reasonable and effective control possible along the lines suggested for many years by the late Dr. Hubert S. Howe, and explained in detail in the report of the Committee on Narcotics of the New York Academy of Medicine in June, 1955.

N. H. COOPER, M.D.
Director of Health
Community Council
of Greater N. Y.

Escalator Budget

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 9 you report that the Defense Department has publicly conceded that General LeMay's requests for increased Air Force appropriations were based on "greatly overestimated" assumptions about Soviet air power. You comment that "it would be unfortunate if the public gained the impression that estimates of 'the enemies'' potentialities invariably rose as budget time approached, only to be revised once a budget has been approved."

Shouldn't that word have been *fortunate?*

The record—as published in our press and news periodicals—confirms the fact that our political and military leaders control their estimates of the Soviet Menace, turning them up or down as easily as they could adjust a gas-burner, depending on the exigencies of their own "positive policy." It would clearly be fortunate if our electorate would note this and call a halt.

The unknown factor, however, is not whether military requests for appropriations are justified by objective estimates of Soviet military power, but whether the electorate is interested in objective reality. By now it is a rare citizen who does not recognize the close relation between government spending for military preparations and his own "prosperity." And this means that our collective unconscious will struggle to prevent any general admission that we are not "forced" by the Soviet Menace to maintain our military expenditures.

HELEN MEARS

New York

Honoring Dr. Lothrop

Dear Sirs: A testimonial dinner to honor the Reverend Donald G. Lothrop, who is serving his twentieth year as minister of The Community Church of Boston, will be held on Wednesday evening, April 10, in the Hotel Lenox, Boston. Guests will include Roger Baldwin, founder and past director of the American Civil Liberties Union and currently accredited to the United Nations as representative of the International League for the Rights of Man; the L[illegible]ton Brooks Hale, President Rev. Clay[illegible]ston Council of Churches; of the Bo[illegible]h Shubow of Temple B'nai Rabbi Jose[illegible] Rev. Dana McLean Gree- Moshe; the[illegible]lington Street Church; and ley of the A[illegible] Shapley, Professor Emeri- Dr. Harlow

THE CAR[illegible]EFUL YOUNG MEN
Few Nati[illegible]on articles in recent
years have a[illegible]roused such interest as
has the sym[illegible]posium on the Amer-
ican undergra[illegible]duate printed in our
March 9 issue[illegible]. A final collection of
letters on th[illegible] is subject will appear
next week.

tus at Harvard and former director of the Harvard Observatory.

Reservations can be made by writing to me at 34 Esmond Street, Boston 21, Mass.

EDWARD HEARTZ

Boston, Mass.

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

285 ●

ARTICLES

287 ● Banish Hunger from Tomorrow
by WILLIAM HAMMATT DAVIS

291 ● Marine Corps Takes a Thumping
by BEM PRICE

293 ● How to Treat Sex Offenders
by RALPH BRANCALE and F. LOVELL BIXBY

295 ● Soviet Youth Demands Debate
by RALPH PARKER

297 ● Letter from a Soviet Student

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

298 ● A Guide to Perfect Security
by JAY G. SYKES

299 ● Military Model for America
by MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

300 ● The Novel in France
by KATHERINE HOSKINS

301 ● Theatre
by ROBERT HATCH

302 ● Art
by MAURICE GROSSER

302 ● Soft Hope (Poem)
by ROSE HIRSHMAN

303 ● Music
by LESTER TRIMBLE

304 ● Lent (poem)
by LOUIS O. COXE

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 304)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Anne W. Langman, Television
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Dan Wakefield, Alexander Werth, H. H. Wilson.

The Nation, April 6, 1957, Vol. 184, No. 14

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright 1957, in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class mail privileges authorized at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7, Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1957
VOLUME 184, NUMBER 14

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Labor Probe

Senator McClellan's investigation of racketeering in the labor movement is meeting with nearly universal approval and for obvious reasons. Flagrant breaches of trust have been disclosed. A less lovely cast of characters has not appeared in the spotlight of a Congressional inquiry for many seasons. Naturally the public is enthusiastic and will insist that the probe be pressed with the utmost zeal and energy. All the same, the circumstances under which the investigating committee was constituted, and the manner in which its hearings have been conducted, point to the conclusion that we are witnessing another dangerous extension of the Congressional power of investigation.

Initially the so-called "permanent subcommittee" of the Senate Committee on Government Operations undertook the probe for the purpose, so it was stated, of determining the adequacy of certain reports which trade unions are required by law to file with government agencies. Faced with a challenge by officials of the Teamsters Union, the subcommittee was quick to realize that it was proceeding on a shaky jurisdictional premise. The leaders of both parties, meeting behind closed doors, then decided to set up the present bipartisan Select Committee composed of Senators Ives, Goldwater, Kennedy and McNamara of the Senate Labor Committee, and Senators McClellan, Mundt, McCarthy and Ervin of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Senate Resolution 74, setting up the Select Committee, authorizes a study and investigation of "the extent to which criminal or other improper practices or activities are, or have been, engaged in in the field of labor-management relations" and to determine whether any changes are required in the laws of the United States to guard against the occurrence of such practices and activities. The committee is given broad powers to conduct the inquiry, but is not authorized to report legislation directly to the Senate. The report, to be filed on January 31, 1958, will be in the nature of a grand jury presentment; it will point to the need for legislation in certain fields, but whatever legislation is proposed will then be referred to appropriate committees for hearings. What the Senate has done, therefore, is to create a special grand jury.

The fact that vicious persons have engaged in detestable practices does not warrant the establishment of a Congressional grand jury. Dave Beck has been in *The Nation's* rogue's gallery for many years and his colleagues, Messrs. Hoffa and Brewster, have consistently failed to arouse our admiration. But such considerations do not obviate the danger that the Select Committee may abuse its powers. Nor are the procedures of the committee altogether reassuring. For example, the spectacle of a Congressional committee planting a decoy in its staff to entrap "Jimmy" Hoffa is offensive. In times past the Senate has been righteously indignant when attempts were made to entrap some of its own members by similar tactics (see: *The Federal Bureau of Investigation,* by Max Lowenthal, p. 291.)

If federal statutes have been violated, those guilty should be prosecuted. Hasn't the Senate, therefore, lost sight of the subject-matter that should be investigated? Instead of setting up the Select Committee, the Senate might better have asked the Judiciary Committee to call in Mr. Brownell, the various United States District Attorneys and the Directors of Internal Revenue in an effort to discover the causes for such lax law enforcement.

Public enthusiasm for the work of the Select Committee should not be permitted to obscure the fact that Congressional committees act outside the legitimate scope of the power of investigation when their prime purpose is to "set up" individuals for prosecution or to function, generally, as a grand jury for the nation.

Fragile Twigs

Washington

There is one key which, better than all others, unlocks the mystery of American policy in the Middle East. It is the belief of the State Department's policy-makers that the Russians can be pushed out of that

APR 4 1957

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

area. This group, which has Secretary Dulles' ear, sees three means of accomplishing the Russians' exodus.

First, there is always American cash. President Eisenhower's special envoy, Mr. James P. Richards, is now touring some eighteen Mideast countries, his rucksack bulging with folding money.

Second, there is King Saud of Arabia. The State Department thinks he has seen the light following his recent visit to Washington. The U.S. government is relying on him to swing his wavering fellow-Arabs into line with American anti-Soviet policy.

Third, the expansion of direct American influence in the area. American power, short of sending a gunboat up the Nile, has been engaging in one demonstration after another in the Middle East. Congress passed the resolution elevating to high policy the Eisenhower Doctrine against Communist aggression in that region. Vice-President Nixon has just completed a goodwill tour which embraced several Mideast lands. At Bermuda, President Eisenhower announced American readiness to join the Baghdad Pact's military committee.

The administration's policy-planners are confident that by these means the Russians will be forced before long to fold their tents and steal away as silently as they entered the Mideast a year-and-a-half ago. However, the assumption has one little flaw: it may be wrong. It may be difficult to get the Soviets out while so many people in the Middle East want them there.

It isn't communism which makes the Russian presence seem desirable to the Egyptians, Syrians and Yemeni. Then what is it? For one thing, the Soviets are supplying them with weapons at cut-rate prices. To make this the more tempting, Moscow is accepting payment in cotton and other commodities which aren't so easy to market. For another thing, the Russians have been throwing their political support to the Arabs at the United Nations and elsewhere. And, above all, the Soviets' presence in the Mideast gives the nations there a wonderful lever with which to pry more aid from the United States.

Now, as to the means with which our State Department hopes to drive the Russians out of the Middle East. If the truth were known about the funds at Mr. Richards' disposal, we fear his sex appeal would be heavily discounted. He is said to have authority to commit roughly $70 million for economic aid. If the sum be partitioned among, say, only half the nations he is visiting, it becomes obvious at once that he is utterly incapable of assuaging their appetites.

As for Saud, he is, indeed, as anti-Communist as anyone could wish. Unfortunately, he is even more anti-Israel. He hates Britain because he covets the British-protected Trucial Coast and Buraimi Oasis with their presumed oil reserves. Finally, owing to his old grudge against the Hashemite dynasty, he is cold towards Iraq—with which the U.S. government ardently wants him to form an anti-Soviet rampart.

So the more closely we look at the whips with which we intend to chase the Russians out of the Mideast, the more they resemble fragile twigs.

Change of Style

The seven scientists who signed the report of the Study Group on Smoking and Health—sponsored by the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the National Cancer Institute and the National Heart Institute—conclude that cigarette smoking is "beyond reasonable doubt" a cause of lung cancer. The report notes that at least sixteen independent studies carried on in five countries during the last eighteen months have established a statistical association between smoking and lung cancer. (On May 23, 1953—four years ago—*The Nation* published Smoking and Lung Cancer, by Dr. Alton Ochsner, one of the first authoritative reports on the subject.) The study group concludes that "the smoking of tobacco, particularly in the form of cigarettes, is an important health hazard."

The report may produce, among other minor consequences, a change in the style of cigarette advertising copy. The Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938 invests the Food and Drug Administration with jurisdiction over food, drugs, cosmetics and devices. It does not mention cigarettes. But the FDA has asserted jurisdiction in cigarette cases where the manufacturer claimed that the product has therapeutic value. In such cases the FDA's position is that the label on the package transforms the cigarette into a "drug." The major cigarette manufacturers have not claimed specific therapeutic values for their products, but their advertising copy often suggests that cigarettes are invigorating, soothing, restful, exhilarating, etc. To avoid a claim of jurisdiction by the FDA, will the new style in cigarette advertising copy warn the consumer, perhaps, that the product has no—absolutely no—therapeutic value?

High Cost of Empire Salvage

Washington

A fortnight's stay in our national capital is about to end for Ngo Dinh Nhu, brother of the Vietnamese President, Ngo Dinh Diem, who may himself come here later this year. Ambassador Nhu has been making the rounds of top brass here, culminating in a conversation with President Eisenhower. He has been discussing military and economic problems with John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency, Foreign Aid Chief John Hollister and the Pentagon luminaries.

Vietnam would like to snuggle closer to SEATO, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southeast Asian alliance which Secretary Dulles fostered, although there is no immediate suggestion that Vietnam should join. The 1954 Geneva agreement forbids participation of Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia in any military bloc. At present SEATO eludes the ban by unilaterally extending protection to all three Indo-Chinese states.

Now it's reported that Vietnam may send observers to SEATO's future military maneuvers, especially to those in proximity to Indo-China. As co-signatories, Russia and Communist China may decry this as violating the spirit of the Geneva protocol. But SEATO is ready to point to the Communist grip on Laos' two northern provinces as an infringement of the Geneva understanding by the other side.

Ambassador Nhu has also been discussing the character of American aid for Vietnam. The Vietnamese want U.S. economic assistance, mainly in the form of capital equipment, to increase their textile output, to build paper mills, modernize their coal-mines and create more hydro-electric power. U.S. authorities go along with part of these aspirations, but insist that American consumer goods ought to find a significant place in the aid program.

When conflicts like this arise, Uncle Sam is in the driver's seat. His dollars are footing the bill for the 150,000-man Vietnamese armed forces. In the fiscal years 1955-7, the United States will have supplied Vietnam with aid valued at about $750 millions, besides tanks, aircraft, guns and other military equipment.

Almost unnoticed, Ambassador Nhu's visit here should remind American taxpayers that salvaging the wreckage of the French and British empires is no cut-rate business.

Banish Hunger from Tomorrow . . *by William Hammatt Davis*

IN A Challenge to America—The Atomic Crossroads, published in these pages last September 15, an attempt was made to clear away some of the underbrush that entangles our thinking along the path to peace—not "the peace that passeth all understanding" or "the eventual element of calm," but peace on earth among men of goodwill. It was then suggested:

1. That in the realm of human conflict, creative results flow not from forcible coercion but from reasonable persuasion;

2. That the release of atomic energy marks a revolutionary change in human affairs, for it deters resort to war and gives us a new tool for creation far better than anything we have ever had;

3. That in the arena of the cold war prospects of disarmament by agreement are remote indeed, since the war-deterring hydrogen bomb may on no account be put aside until we have built up among the people of the world enough mutual confidence to sustain a reliable peace.

4. Finally, that in the area of economic development the door is now wide open to progress from rags to riches—the driving of hunger from tomorrow's history; that in this arena the processes of creative agreement by reasonable persuasion are in their natural element, and the prospects are good.

Surely world events since last September, while exposing the growing pains of the United Nations in its progress toward adolescence, have dramatized the fact that progress in human relations—indeed the very core of civilization—lies in the development of order out of chaos in the hearts and minds of men by reasonable persuasion. These events have also underscored the significance of the hydrogen bomb, for there can be no doubt of the potent influence of this war-deterrent to stop the spread of warfare in the Middle East. As to disarmament by agreement, there has been no progress.

The particular topic of the present discussion is, therefore, a return to the final suggestion of the September, 1956, article: the improving prospects outside the arena of the cold war in the area of economic development. When we look at current events from that point of view we see that the picture begins to come into focus. It is an exciting one.

Of primary interest among these events is President Eisenhower's Second Inaugural address. With eloquence that had the tone of deep conviction, he put before America its unavoidable task: the building of international peace and goodwill by economic development under the shield of sustained military preparedness. And he has pictured the basic attitudes of mind Americans must develop, and the principle of behavior they must accept, to achieve that end.

Thus, he declared "our firm and fixed purpose—the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails." He warned that this is "a bold and solemn purpose" and that to "serve it will be hard," but that "we must be aware of its full meaning and ready to pay its full price" which "will be high." He has presented the task not as unselfish benevolence but in its true colors as something indispensable to our lasting economic and social welfare. "We recognize," he said, "our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. . . . No people

WILLIAM HAMMATT DAVIS, a New York attorney, was chairman of the National War Labor Board, 1942-5; Director of the Office of Stabilization, 1945, and has been a member of various federal and state labor mediation boards.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can live to itself alone. . . . Not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not prosper."

Beyond these positive assertions of purpose and justifying need, the President spoke of certain necessary postures in our dealings with others. "The law of which we speak," he said, "affirms the equality of all nations, great and small"; "Only in respecting the hopes and cultures of others will we practice the equality of all nations." And—of major importance in the art of problem-solving by reasonable persuasion—"Only as we show willingness and wisdom in giving counsel—in receiving counsel—and in sharing burdens, will we wisely perform the work of peace." Finally, as to what we seek in return from other nations who ask for help and who, like ourselves, are or would be free, he says, "We no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own. . . . We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society."

THESE are penetrating words. They greatly clarify the picture of what lies before the United States in the task of world-wide economic development. If they are understood and justly weighed by public opinion, they can afford a broad and solid base for that essential enterprise.

The President's precepts are, of course, no more than a foundation. The victories of civilization are won when, and only when, men and women by their own creative efforts develop a noble idea into reality by working out and putting to use means adequate to its realization. In this instance, the Administration has not yet announced any concrete plans. The author of this article professes no special qualification to do so. But our history shows that the American people are capable of such things if they know what they are asked to do and are given the opportunity to understand and approve concrete ways of doing it. There is no doubt that events are bringing into focus the picture of the necessary implementation. The author does, therefore, venture to comment on how far this picture seems to be in step with his experience in problem-solving by mutual discussion in industrial-relations disputes.

A first principle of stable problem-solving by agreement is that there should be available, within the control of the parties, means adequate to meet the requirement of the settlement agreed upon. If, for example, there is not enough to go around and some have to be excluded, then the unavoidable discrimination gives rise to disruptive forces which will ultimately undermine the settlement.

This principle is the central concept in *A Proposal—Key to an Effective Foreign Policy,* by Max F. Millikan and W. W. Rostow (Harper), perhaps the most publicized item of the large amount of current research in the field of economic aid to underdeveloped areas. The proposal is the result of a prolonged economic and sociological study under the auspices of the Center of International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; it was discussed by Dean Acheson in the *New York Times Magazine* of January 6 and in his statement to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on January 16; and it is one of several studies now before the Special Committee to Study the Foreign Aid Program of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Its basic thought is that the United States, in participation with other developed countries, should set up a development fund large enough to assure "to every underdeveloped Free World country . . . as much capital as it can use productively in accordance with strict criteria of productivity."

THIS IDEA goes to the heart of the matter. Some such arrangement is essential to exclude discrimination and the suspicion of ulterior (political) motives. Only by assuring the availability of economic aid subject to wholly objective tests can reality be given to the President's assurance that "We no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own"; that "We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society."

Let us take a closer look at the two parts of this basic idea: (1) the size of the development fund and (2) the proposed criteria.

1. The outside limit of the estimated commitment of the contributing—i.e., the industrially-developed—countries would be $3.5 billions a year. This sum is, of course, insignificant in relation to the contributors' available economic resources. Thus, the estimated *maximum* annual commitment of the U.S. Treasury would be about two billion dollars, while actual demands are not expected ever to exceed 60 per cent or $1.2 billions. Of this sum, it is estimated that over 80 per cent would be loans, leaving unsecured U.S. expenditures of something like $250 millions a year. Of this amount, it is believed that about fifty millions would be covered by the export of surplus agricultural products.

THE two billion *maximum* estimate for the United States, it should be noted, is less than one-half of one per cent of our annual production of goods and services, i.e. 50c out of every $100. It is less than one-tenth of the annual *increase* of our productive output. It is much less than we have recently decided to spend annually on the single item of our own highway development! In other words, it lies very well indeed within what we can easily afford.

The somewhat surprisingly low level of the estimate is, we are told, due to the fact that the undeveloped countries which *most need* grants of foreign capital to get their economies off the ground are the countries which are capable of using the *least* amount productively. As the economy rises from the ground the local capital build-up increases, government loans become supportable, productivity increases and public and private capital markets are opened to the country's requirements. Thus the studies agree that the size of the required development fund is not a significant burden.

2. The proposed criteria for measuring objectively whether the development capital for a particular country or a particular project will be advanced or withheld, are in precise accord with President Eisenhower's precept, as clearly stated in his Second Inaugural address,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not prosper." Hence, the economic status of the receiving country is the test. The fact to be determined is, therefore, "whether a given application of resources is likely to justify itself in terms of increased productivity."

This determination involves such factual economic and sociological questions as whether the purpose for which the capital requested is within the technical and administrative resources of the receiving country; whether the rest of its economy is being developed within the time period of the project sufficiently to make it fully productive; whether the receiving country has an overall national development program designed to make the best use of its own resources (including educational and training programs); whether its program is consistent with the requirements of expanding world commerce, etc. In short, the fixing of the objective criteria is a matter of judgment based on carefully ascertained economic and sociological facts and supported by the voluntary acceptance of the participant suppliers and receivers.

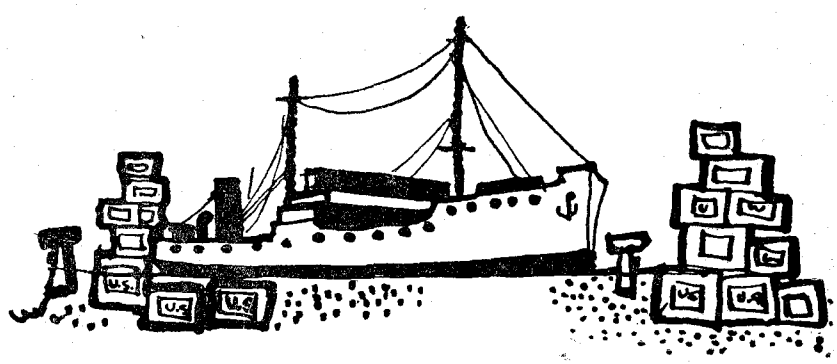
IT IS IN these aspects of the common problem that the processes of reasonable persuasion — collective bargaining, if you please—present a fruitful opportunity. For a second basic principle of problem-solving by agreement is joint conference where each party in interest, however humble, is given opportunity to express himself, and experience shows that when given that chance, and only then, his mind begins to open to the view of others. Thus, experience in "collective bargaining" indicates that the criteria, whether in world-wide planning or in regional plans, must be the product of agreement among the parties concerned—the capital-receiving countries as well as the capital-supplying countries—to be determined by negotiation. Bilateral grants could not escape discrimination, or—which is just as bad—the suspicion of discrimination. In formulating the criteria we shall indeed, as President Eisenhower said, have to "practice the equality of all nations" and "show willingness and wisdom in giving counsel—in receiving counsel—and in sharing burdens."

WITH that understanding, the promise of creative negotiated agreements on sound criteria is excellent. There is a common problem which serves as a powerful urge toward agreement for the receiving country and for the supplying country as well. The fact that the problem involves judgment after realistic fact-finding calls to mind a saying we had on the War Labor Board of World War II, that "Sincere men, however much they may disagree in judgment after the facts are found, cannot really disagree about a fact, they can only be ignorant about it." And the process of clearing away that ignorance calls into play knowledge, communication, understanding, emotional maturity and empathy —the ability to put one's self in the other fellow's place. These are the very handmaidens of the processes of reasonable persuasion. It is no overstatement to say that there is nothing so productive of enduring mutual respect and confidence—the ultimate building blocks of peace—as such mutual fact-finding.

We must finally take note of the two recently published advisory reports to the Eisenhower Administration: the Fairless Report of the Mutual Security Program appointed by President Eisenhower about a year ago, released on March 5, and the Johnston Report, released on March 7, of the International Development Advisory Board set up under President Truman's Point Four Program in 1950.

The Fairless Committee was asked to cover the whole Mutual Security Program. There was in it no particular concentration on the best way to effect economic development abroad; but it did find that "economic development is—in the long run—as important to the collective security of the Free World as the military measures we have taken"; that "in a number of countries the capacity for saving is as yet so slight, and the need for capital so great, that foreign investment is essential —just as it was in the development of the United States" and that "the uniquely productive United States economy" can without doubt "afford the essential programs of foreign assistance which our national interest requires."

The report recommended administrative and legislative "separation between economic and military contribution" but without any suggestion that the economic development program should be divorced from military defense build-up. On the contrary, the two are always entwined in the recommendations. Economic-development expenditures by our government are thought of as helping to "bring the recipient countries more completely into the orbit of free society, to expand the economic activity of the free world, and to increase the capability of our allies to carry their defense costs." It is remarked that "the best security for Americans is collective security, and . . . the best hope for diminishing the burden is economic development." Further: "In foreign-assistance programs a higher priority should be given to those countries which have joined in the collective security system" (i.e. our military allies), excluding countries that do not share with us "the same judgment as to the measures necessary to defend against" the Communist conspiracy (i.e. the neutral coun-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tries). The report recommends the continuance of "sound public loans" under close restrictions, advising the elimination of loans by the United States "repayable in the inconvertible currencies of foreign nations" or where there is "grave doubt as to the ability of the borrower to repay." The possibility of approvable grants is recognized only in "those exceptional cases where it is clearly in the national interest" of the United States, and apparently only for "educational exchange and technical-assistance programs." It favors contributions by other economically advanced nations, but sees no "need for yet another world-wide bureau, such as the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, for the distribution of grant economic assistance," although our support for the United Nations technical-assistance work "should continue at about the present level." The disposal programs under the Agricultural, Trade, Development and Assistance Act should discontinue "associating the sales with additional grants or soft loans . . . separating the disposal program from our foreign-assistance activities."

On the whole, it is reasonable to conclude that the President's Citizens Advisers on the Mutual Security Program are out of sympathy with the President's Inaugural Address; that they see in the economic development of underdeveloped countries advantages for us only when the country is an ally and thinks as we do; that they do not "recognize our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere"; or believe that "Not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not prosper."

In short, the report might well be said to confuse leadership with bossism.

THE Johnston Report of the International Development Advisory Board is quite different. It is a concrete recommendation for immediate action by the United States to set up an International Development Fund within the International Cooperation Administration to provide technical assistance and development capital to underdeveloped countries "in Latin America, Asia and Africa, including the Middle East" for "helping these people to improve their training and skills to the level required for sustained economic growth" and to "supply the vital, though marginal, amounts of capital needed to promote economic progress, to avert the lapse into economic stagnation." Congress "would replenish working capital as the fund's needs are demonstrated." Loans from the fund would "encourage both the borrower and the lender to be frugal in using the fund's resources" and encourage also "healthy economic policies in the recipient countries" and "the desires of these countries for increased national self-reliance and dignity." But some grants "from a portion of the fund would be required" for "financing technical assistance" and in "situations where the giving of assistance is in the United States' national interest, but where the expectation of repayment is neither practical nor reasonable." The report says: "Loans and grants should be made only after recipients have demonstrated their ability to effectively use the funds, including the availability of trained manpower essential for success. Thus, productiveness of the fund's resources would be increased and the foreign nations would be encouraged to develop integrated plans which are vital to economic development."

HERE IS indeed a beginning of realistic implementation of President Eisenhower's Inaugural Address. It is in full accord, so far as it goes, with the basic thought of the Millikan-Rostow *Proposal* in providing for replenishment of a fund large enough to assure to the underdeveloped country "as much capital as it can use productively in accordance with strict criteria of productivity" and therefore without invidious discrimination or ulterior (political) motives. It is a first step, recommended to be taken by the United States now. Although the world-wide extent of the need for technical aid and economic development is delineated in the report, contribution by other nations is not particularly dwelt upon. The emphasis is rather upon coordination of the fund's expenditures with those of already existing agencies. Specialized agencies of the U.N., such as the International Bank and the International Finance Corporation, are spoken of. The proposed Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), long under discussion by the U.N., is not named, but the director of the proposed United States fund should, it is suggested, have "the authority to contribute to international agencies devoted to economic development in underdeveloped areas." There is no hint that the Advisory Board shares the view of the President's Citizen Advisers who "see no need for yet another world-wide bureau such as" SUNFED. The Millikan-Rostow *Proposal*, on the other hand, does deal with contributions by other capital-supplying countries and discusses SUNFED at some length. Its authors believe that the basic issues have not been "explored thoroughly enough to permit us to present a detailed blueprint of the ideal solution," and they express on several grounds skepticism of SUNFED's suitability as a sustained, adequate and non-political source of international financing. They conclude that "the United States should urgently undertake serious discussions with the governments of other supplying countries both as to the order of magnitude of the contributions they might be willing to make . . . and as to what institutions they might want to set up to handle their share of it."

THUS, as coming events cast their shadows before, so the shadows and the highlights of these current events disclose the general outlines of the great adventure that confronts us. For the American people, conscious of their ancient heritage and confident of their practical "know-how" and still youthful energy, the time seems to have come to lift up again the torch of liberty for all the world to see; and incidentally to solidify the foundations of their own most excellent fortunes.

The question now seems to be, "What are we waiting for?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARINE CORPS TAKES A THUMPING . . *Bem Price*

AMONG CAREER members of the U.S. Marine Corps, combat is accepted as a trade. The Corps itself is geared to immediate war. It trains on the theory that it may have to go to war today and that recruits now in the pipeline may be tomorrow's casualty replacements.

As a result, and aside from the single-mission Strategic Air Command, the Marine Corps exists today as the nation's only combat-ready force—three self-contained infantry divisions and three tactical air wings for the close support of ground troops.

To maintain this state of constant readiness, the Corps demands that the recruit depots at Parris Island, S.C., and San Diego, Calif., turn out physically fit, tautly disciplined men on a swift, mass-production basis. The sole function of these depots is to teach discipline and to introduce the new Marine to his basic weapon, the rifle. Real combat training is carried out elsewhere.

Because of the peculiar mission of the Corps, discipline to a Marine means the conditioning of men until prompt, unquestioning obedience to orders is an automatic reflex. Marines are essentially shock troopers. It is their job to punch through the hard outer crust of enemy defenses long enough for other troops to pour through the breach.

In the process of meeting this demand for disciplined men, the Corps has evolved a unique breed of non-commissioned officer known as the drill instructor, or "DI." Until a tragedy last April 8, in which six raw recruits, presumably on a night disciplinary march, were drowned, the DI was for all practical purposes solely responsible for production of the disciplined marine.

BEM PRICE, a Washington, D.C., newspaperman, got his basic training as a marine at Parris Island in 1942, served with the Marine Corps in World War II and in the Korean War and won the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star and Purple Heart. His highest wartime rank was Captain.

The April 8 tragedy involving former Staff Sergeant Matthew C. McKeon, brought about a drastic revision in Marine training methods —chiefly the dilution of the DI's authority. McKeon's court-martial produced considerable evidence that until April 8 there had been only cursory officer supervision of recruit training and that, in fact, the officers did not know of the extra-legal training methods employed by the drill instructors. Anyhow, those who testified said they didn't.

On the basis of the McKeon trial alone, it would be easy to indict the training methods of the Corps, but the story isn't quite that simple. There is no doubt that the training methods employed by the DIs in the pre-McKeon period—and to some extent since—have been marked by a strongly Prussian tinge, a fact which is not particularly surprising. Back in the 1920s, the Marines received a heavy influx of former officers and non-commissioned officers from the German and Russian armies of World War I, many of whom became DIs. In those days the Corps was small, tough, professional.

Historians at Headquarters Marine Corps agree that the model for today's drill instructor was molded in the two decades following 1920. The DI who helped to whip 500,000 civilians into Marines during World War II usually was one of these old-timers or had been trained by one.

The drill instructor just prior to World War II usually was a man who had had considerable experience in handling troops. He had developed those indefinable qualities known as leadership ability to a high degree. His chief weapon was his voice. He could plead with surprising gentleness. His sarcasm was biting. He could simulate anger and employ a rock-hard roar to reduce bewildered recruits to abject fear. On occasion he employed mild, usually ridiculous, forms of hazing. One type was to make a recruit stand with a bucket over his head and shout 500 times "I am an idiot" while his platoon mates counted aloud. If the DI was really irritated at a recruit, he might take the latter's freshly laundered clothes and throw them on the ground.

As a matter of pride the old-time DI rarely resorted to force. When he did encounter a rebellious recruit on whom none of the normal methods worked, the DI would resort to the woodshed. This involved a cold invitation to meet behind the barracks after dark. Usually there were no witnesses. It was strictly a man-to-man affair. The DI usually won for the simple reason that he was better trained and in better physical condition. After such an encounter a recruit platoon could be counted on to become a model of decorum.

In the pre-war days, the DI had a higher type recruit on which to work. Because it was small, the Corps could afford to be highly selective. A volunteer had to pass a rigid physical examination and, about as often as not, was a high school graduate. But during World War II the Marines were forced to use the draft to fill their battle-torn ranks and the ranks of the old-time, experienced drill instructor were sadly depleted by demands for trained non-commissioned officers in the field.

Under wartime pressure, supervision of drill instructors relaxed progressively. I date the develop-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of the Marines' current troubles from about 1945.

After the McKeon incident, General Randolph McC. Pate, Marine Corps commandant, remarked, "Since World War II some practices have crept into the handling of recruits which are not only unnecessary, but do not comport with the dignity of the individual or his self-respect. Such practices were extremely rare in the past. While they are still relatively rare, I attribute their increasing appearance in recent years to the lack of mature judgment on the part of a certain few drill instructors."

WHILE DI personnel had been undergoing change, so had the caliber of recruit. Just prior to and during the Korean conflict there were complaints from the other services that the Corps was siphoning off the cream of the volunteers and the draftees. To meet these complaints, the Marines were forced by the Department of Defense to accept a quota of what is known as "Mental Group IV." In this classification are the illiterates and the slow learners. I made a check of the "IV" group quota for the Corps. During one month last summer it comprised nearly 40 per cent of all recruits.

For the harassed DI the addition of the "IV" group was just about the last straw. How do you make a good Marine out of a man who is mentally slow and who finds the pride and traditions of the Corps beyond his grasp?

To understand the DI of the pre-McKeon days, you must realize that he was on duty anywhere from 120 to 148 hours a week. When a married man became a DI he was, almost automatically, a candidate for a divorce. If lucky, he lived in drab government quarters. Otherwise he lived off the base in a trailer or such civilian housing as he could find and afford. As a single man, he lived in a barren room with other DIs.

With luck and perseverance he turned out a good platoon. If he didn't, his efforts, however strenuous, were rewarded with a poor fitness report which impaired his promotion chances. To be a drill instructor at all required an extraordinary sense of dedication to the Corps and an almost fanatic belief that the job was the foundation stone of the Corps—which it is.

In the pre-McKeon days, the pressure was on the DI to turn out a good basic Marine in ten weeks. If a given platoon was overburdened with "IV" group recruits, the task became one of immense frustration. There were strong temptations to employ teaching methods which were clearly illegal.

The McKeon court-martial produced testimony that the "thumping," or striking, of recruits was fairly commonplace. Since the trial, thirteen DIs have been court-martialed at Parris Island alone for mistreating recruits; ten were convicted.

At this point I must say that after spending ten weeks at Parris Island over the past year, I believe that most DIs "thumped" only as a last resort. A few "thumped" for pleasure and among these were the men who also engaged in a dangerous, sadistic form of hazing. One of the post-McKeon courts-martial involved a drill instructor who made a recruit balance on his elbows and toes while an unsheathed bayonet was held below his stomach. Then there were exhaustion marches, sometimes into the marshes abutting Parris Island, in the dead of the night.

The natural question at this point is: Why does the DI feel he must resort to force? There is a military remedy for the recalcitrant recruit—the court-martial. To a man, every DI to whom I've talked has said something like this by way of explanation:

"Sure, I could run 'em up for disobedience of orders, but why get the kids off to a bad start? Hell, he don't know nothing. A court-martial could ruin his career before it gets started. No, sir, I want to handle this my way. If I got to thump a little, I'll take my chances. Besides, it don't hurt."

Whatever the merits of the DIs' arguments, the fact remains that the Marine Corps is determined to stamp out "thumping" and hazing. It has forbidden DIs to touch a recruit except for the purpose of correcting posture, adjusting clothing or to demonstrate a military movement. The order is so severe and rigid that under a strict interpretation a DI could be court-martialed for shaking hands with a recruit.

Further, the Corps has inaugurated an officer-inspection system which demands that the DI keep his assigned officer informed of where he is and what he is doing at all times. The day of the DI as the sole arbiter of the best method of instilling discipline is gone.

This officer supervision plus the existence of the rigid order against touching has put the DI in an awkward position. The officer demands that the DI turn out good Marines as before, but poses the threat of a court-martial for the least infraction of the rules. A result of this situation has been the undermining of the authority and prestige of the DI and of his non-commissioned rank. It could result in a dangerous impairment of the Corps, which long has boasted that the non-com is its true backbone.

THE concern of the Corps has not been solely for the recruit. It finally has recognized some of the problems of the DI. The training period has been extended two weeks to a total of twelve. The number of drill instructions per platoon has been doubled. An effort is being made to provide the married DI with more adequate housing. At Parris Island, the Corps has turned over a former officers' barracks to the single DIs. There have been a host of similar minor improvements in the DI's lot.

How does this add up? I believe the Corps is now evolving a better training system; the recruit today, for example, undergoes eighty hours of hardening exercises—triple that which he received in the pre-McKeon days. On the other hand, in seeking to eliminate mistreatment, the Corps has gone to extremes, and already a recruit has falsely and maliciously accused his DI under the new regulations. I expect that in time the Corps will reach some compromise. Certainly I don't think the practice of "thumping" will be eliminated entirely, but I do expect it will be sharply curtailed—and at no expense to the traditional efficiency of the Corps as a fighting unit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO TREAT SEX OFFENDERS

by Ralph Brancale and F. Lovell Bixby

Recent news dispatches described New Jersey's handling of sex criminals, in which the New Jersey Diagnostic Center plays a key role, as singularly successful. The Nation *asked Dr. Ralph Brancale, director of the Center, and F. Lovell Bixby, director of the Division of Correction and Parole in the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, to describe the New Jersey experiment.*

FROM TIME to time the country gets stirred up about some particular area of crime and resolves to "do something about it." *Doing something* usually consists of passing a law invoking the severest kind of penalties—death, life imprisonment, twenty-five years without benefit of parole. The fact that these penalties are only infrequently imposed, and encourage "bargain pleas" to a lesser offense, escapes public notice, although the evil effects on law enforcement of such a practice is generally recognized.

Spectacular and brutal sex crimes have a special power to inflame public resentment which quickly embraces all sex offenders, the harmless as well as the dangerous. Those whose conduct merely offends good taste and moral standards become statistically amalgamated with the far less numerous seriously aggressive, truly menacing "fiends" whose deeds shock and frighten everyone.

In the realm of sex crimes, however, the past few years have witnessed a tendency to move away from an enhanced punitive point of view to a so-called medical solution. "These people are *sick*—they should be treated, not punished."

Acting under this newer philosophy, many states passed special legislation during the late 1930s and the 1940s which sought to bring the "sex psychopath" under the same legal umbrella as the insane or mentally deficient criminal. The protections afforded the individual by requiring his conviction under due process of law and the fixing of a statutory maximum time beyond which liberty may not be taken away or abridged have been scrapped in favor of clinical judgments on whether he is potentially dangerous to himself or others. In some jurisdictions no crime or even charge of crime is required to put the suspect under indefinite institutional commitment.

The threat of such proceedings to due process and individual liberty was recognized by the New Jersey Commission on the Habitual Sex Offender, created by the state legislature on March 10, 1949. In its recommendations for new laws covering the treatment of sex offenders, the commission advocated that they come into play only *after* a proper conviction or guilty plea had been rendered. It further recommended that incarceration or other abridgement of liberty must terminate when the maximum period prescribed by statue is completed.

IT HAS BEEN said that the New Jersey law, for this reason, fails to give society full protection against the offender who is still deviant in his sex attitudes and behavior when his sentence expires. This is acknowledged, but it does protect the individual against the faulty or careless judgments of a clinical science still in its infancy. The New Jersey law is an awkward but practical combination of legal rights and clinical evaluation and treatment. It goes as far as our knowledge of behavioral science can safely carry us.

Specifically, the law provides that before convicting any person of a sex offense, the court must send the offender to the New Jersey Diagnostic Center for examination.

It is the responsibility of the psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and others who comprise the Diagnostic Center staff to determine, through clinical findings, whether the offender's conduct was characterized by repetitive-compulsive behavior or other evidence of mental, emotional or physical aberration. If they find such evidence of aberration, they may recommend to the court that the person be placed on probation under psychiatric outpatient treatment or that he be committed to an institution (usually a state hospital) for special treatment.

In providing for the release of sex offenders on parole, the New Jersey law avoids the term "cure" and leaves it to the hospital staff, a Special Classification Review Board appointed by the State Board of Control, and the State Parole Board to agree that the person is "capable of making an acceptable social adjustment in the community." Each hospital must report to the Special Classification Review Board on each patient every six months. Parole supervision is furnished by the Central Parole Bureau of the Department of Institutions and Agencies.

The experience at the Diagnostic Center, where approximately 2,600 convicted sex offenders have been studied and reviewed, gives further confirmation to the theory that a large segment of sexual crimes may be ascribed to individuals suffering from psychiatric and psychological disorders.

Improved clinical testing and increasing experience in the psychopathology of offenders permit the clinician to separate the pathological from the normal offender, the dangerous from the inoffensive. There is no absolute line which separates normal behavior from abnormal, but from a practical point of view, clinical teams, through competent evaluations, should be able to determine whether the sexual crimes arise out of disturbed compulsive-instinctive needs or whether they are the expressions of more normally patterned individuals. The former require medical and psychiatric attention; the latter may respond to correction or probationary technique.

A careful, well-prepared social history is the first asset in adequate diagnostic work. Improved probation departments with clinically oriented

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pattern of Sex Crime*

(1,200 Consecutive Cases Reviewed at New Jersey Diagnostic Center.)

	Approximate Percentage
Assault and Rape *(usually associated with force)*	10
Statutory Rape *(victim, usually co-operative, under 16 years old)*	22
Non-Coital Abuse *(so called pedophilic cases where victim is child; force rarely employed)*	18
Exhibitionism	26
Homosexuality	19

**With cooperation of Douglas H. MacNeil, New Jersey Bureau of Social Research*

personnel are able to provide clues and identifying data that point to the elements of psychogenic disorder. At the Diagnostic Center, the history is reviewed and further elaborated to crystallize the clinically significant findings which point to the genesis and development of pathological reactions in the sex offender. It is safe to say that a good history represents half the diagnosis.

Electroencephalography — "brain-wave" testing—is now employed only in those cases where an atypical epilepsy may exist. The psychologist, through greater experience in projective testing today, measures not only the intellectual capacities of the patient, but the level of function. The ink-blot test may point up findings of significant disturbances in the personality, some of them of serious import.

The psychiatrist depends upon the oral interview to search not only for gross psychiatric deviation, such as an early organic deterioration seen in arteriosclerotic or incipient seniles or the readily recognized symptoms so characteristic of schizophrenia. More important, he tries to study the manner in which the individual has handled his intimate life conflicts, and how intimate experiences and emotional situations may have contributed to what may appear to be an abnormal expression of the sexual impulse.

Many of these experiences may be blotted out. For this reason the clinician resorts to deeper techniques, such as narco-analysis or hypnosis. With a drug interview, the patient may recall forgotten situations, feelings and unconscious motives which make the offense more understandable. Such techniques are of immense help to the offender, as they assist him for the first time to understand the deeper factors that move him to his acts.

CLINICAL examination of offenders who are convicted for sexual crimes, as we see, run a whole gamut of behavioral reactions, ranging from normal at one end of the scale to highly psychotic and dangerous types at the other. From a practical point of view, we have mainly three clinical groups: (1) normal, (2) neurotic, (3) psychotic. In the first group are those individuals whose personalities are reasonably integrated and who have adaptive capacities to get along. These individuals, who comprise about 27 per cent of those examined by the Diagnostic Center, have committed an unlawful or pathological act, but close examination uncovers circumstantial stress and situational conflicts that have contributed to the behavior, and the examination of the personality would indicate no deep-seated compulsions or deviations. For the most part, such individuals are expected to make good adjustments without the benefit of institutional commitment. Their hazard to the community is minimal.

In Group II, which in the study of twelve hundred cases represents 35 per cent of all sex offenders, we find that the basic mechanisms are of a neurotic type. In other words, the external repetitious pattern of behavior observed is symptomatic of an underlying repressed instinctive need which has been impeded by psychological factors from constructive expression and, because of inhibiting and repressive activities, has created underlying pressures which find pathological outlets. Many of the exhibitionists, the peeping-toms, the fetishists, the arsonists and the pedophilics fall in the neurotic group.

The study of the patterns of behavior of neurotic offenders will show that they vary in degree of chronicity as well as in response to the treatment efforts. These two factors are extremely important, as they serve to guide the examiner—and for that matter, the court—in the matter of treatment and disposition. One important element in treatment is to bring the nature of the problem to the surface, to explore and expose the often deeply repressed trends. Even this initial process of exploration and ventilation may show remarkable therapeutic results. The principal problem with neurotic offenders is to work with them on a fairly sustained basis and to help them surrender their neurotic modes of expression for more realistic and less destructive methods of solving their problems. It is for this reason that psychiatrists are trying to emphasize that the problem of the compulsive sexualist is predominantly a psychological one and that it is important to develop a procedural method for diagnosis and treatment, and then to develop the resources providing maximum results.

The third group, classified as psychotic and comprising 22 per cent of our cases, again shows a wide range of pathological reactions. In some the psychosis is quite overt and immediate hospitalization is required. We find many more, however, where the disintegrative psychotic process is latent and where ordinarily a commitment to a hospital would not be possible. However, the New Jersey Sex Law permits types that are not overtly psychotic, but who show underlying disintegrative reactions, to be hospitalized.

Among the psychotic group, too, we find some whose disorder is of a functional type, but we also have an increasing number in whom the problem is organic and whose sex behavior is a regressive manifestation of brain disease. We are thinking

Main Diagnostic Types

(1,200 Cases reviewed at New Jersey Diagnostic Center.)

	Approximate Percentage
Normal	27
Neurotic Types	35
Psychotic & Latent Psychotic	22
Mentally Defective	4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

primarily of individuals undergoing arteriosclerotic or senile changes whose sex expression, now incidental to these changes, become childish, immature and infantile. Such individuals are not ordinarily dangerous, but they have a tendency to direct their attention to young children and thus become a threat in the community. In the "functional" group, of course, the schizophrenic reaction is the most common. It is among the psychotic that we may anticipate the greatest degree of dissociation of behavior. It is again among the psychotic that acts of violence most commonly occur. Fortunately, the so-called homicidal, fiendish sexualist is relatively rare, even among the psychotics observed at the Diagnostic Center. This contradicts the popular notion regarding sex offenders.

We may also add a fourth group, making up the balance of sex offenders, whose sexual misconduct is part and parcel of a general antisocial disposition. Such individuals would be more effectively treated at correctional rather than at hospital levels.

A practical scheme of classification can be developed from the above. We see at once that in Group I the make-up of the individual is essentially normal. From a penal standpoint, he is a correctional case, and while many of this group are committed to a correctional institution, a large proportion can do well under probationary plans. Group IV, which manifests a history of continued antisocial behavior, is usually classified as correctional, a type that is better treated in penal institutions. Group II and III provide most of the psychiatric problems, and again the Diagnostic Center staff must determine whether a sexual offender who has a psychiatric disorder should be treated either on an ambulatory basis or in a hospital set up for their care. Where the motivation to treatment is good, where the chronicity of the disorder is not too deeply fixed, where the hazard to the community is minimal and where the subject has many assets which would permit him to provide for himself and his family, his case is frequently recommended for ambulatory treatment. In instances where the reaction appears to be compulsive and deep-seated, where the examiners doubt that the patient will cooperate in treatment, where the nature of the offense itself has been relatively serious (especially where children are involved), and where a hazard to the community is rather clear, the recommendation is for hospital placement until such time as both the hospital and the parole authorities are assured that the offender can be safely returned to his home.

The New Jersey sex legislation has provided a mechanism of dealing with pathological sex offenders which, in the opinion of the authorities, is designed to improve the rehabilitative opportunities of sexual offenders and at the same time assure the community of adequate safeguards. It is encouraging that of 438 men committed to a state hospital under the provisions of the sex law, 234 have been released and only twenty have a record of subsequent violations.

This is only a beginning of a very important penological experiment—a beginning made without sufficient financial support or personnel. A great deal of further experimentation and research is needed. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the sex statutes of New Jersey and of those states which are following a somewhat similar plan are essentially ushering in a new and hopeful penological principle—the hospital concept as worked out within a correctional framework to assure maximum protection to society.

SOVIET YOUTH DEMANDS DEBATE . . *Ralph Parker*

Moscow

THE PICTURE that the world has formed of Soviet youth has changed radically in the past few months. Instead of the heroic, starry-eyed young men and women whom the literature of Stalin's Russia showed us, as it were, frozen in the attitude of Vera Mukina's World Fair statue of factory boy and peasant girl, stands a student with a look of bewildered resentment on his face. The confident forward-thrusting pose is replaced by a hesitant step, the head is turned to cast a long, searching glance at the past, and that fist—is it clenched in the traditional Communist gesture, or in anger?

This new conception of the young people of the Soviet Union stems from material published in the first place in the Soviet press and widely reproduced abroad—material which provides indisputable evidence of a considerable ferment among Soviet youth in the post-Twentieth Congress period, of new attitudes towards values hitherto accepted unquestioningly. Some commentators have gone so far as to interpret the evidence as proof of the failure of communism to grip the young people of the USSR, of the withering away of communism as a vital "religion."

Is this new picture a true one? And if it is, what measures are the Soviet leadership taking to protect their system against this new internal "threat"? Before we can answer these questions, we need to submit the post-Congress period to an analysis that takes into account the main factors affecting the attitudes of Soviet youth.

The death of Joseph Stalin marked the end of an epoch, for Soviet youth as for everyone else here. No one who spent those February days and nights on the streets of Moscow with the Russian people could fail to sense the mood of expectation that was

---

RALPH PARKER, former Moscow correspondent of the New York Times *and the London* Times, *has been a resident of the Soviet Union for many years. Now contributing regularly to the* New Statesman and Nation *(London), he is the author of* How Do You Do, Tovarich?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mingled with the grief and the dismay. Youth expected change; when change came it was of a nature that deeply affected the young people's picture of their own country's achievements, striking at the very heart of what had been known as Soviet patriotism. "We were taught to love our country because it was better in every respect than any other country. We were taught that the Russians had invented everything, that Soviet life was superior in every respect than life elsewhere. After Stalin's death, the new government dropped this line. We were encouraged to study foreign achievements, were told that in many branches of our life we had a long way to catch up with capitalist lands. Thus the very *raison d'etre* of Soviet patriotism à la Stalin was removed." Thus spoke a Soviet student of technology, adding with a touch of cynicism that the formula "My country right or wrong" is a surer method of achieving loyalty than "My country is always right."

BUT DESPITE the disequilibrium it caused in young minds, the Soviet leaders' new policy of speaking frankly about the true state of the nation's economy, their abandonment of empty exhortatory phrases, was proving popular. New writers like Valentin Ovechkin and Vladimir Tendriakov, who rejected the practice of making their picture of reality conform to an idealized future, won widespread popularity among young readers for their truthful treatment of facts, however ugly. The hundreds of thousands of young men and women who responded to the appeal to settle on virgin land in Siberia and Central Asia went there with their eyes open to the hardships awaiting them. They went, as some of them told this writer in a tent amid the Altai steppes, "to get our country's farming out of the mess it's in"; went, too, because for many of them the city life they had known during the later years of Stalin's life had become intolerable with its eavesdropping, its denunciations, its ever-present terror.

Then came Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's methods at the Twentieth Congress. Perhaps future historians will dwell on this "secret report" as the act of a man determined, in the face of more cautious counsellors, to make a return to Stalinist methods impossible by revealing their true nature in the harshest possible colors. Notwithstanding, the immediate effect on youth was one that was bound to cause the Soviet leaders considerable concern. People who have seen their god toppled from his pedestal not unnaturally begin to question the tenets of the religion he symbolized. As 1956 proceeded, party ideologists had to busy themselves increasingly with the defense of the system. A wave of irreverence swept over Soviet youth, expressing itself at one end of the scale in scathing political anecdotes, at the other in open questioning of the value to them of Marxist-Leninist education and of the Komsomol itself, the handmaiden of the party. Veterans of the Revolution and the Civil War complained that the factory youth were growing indifferent to their stories of the Soviet state's heroic past. Student rags held during the November holidays turned mainly on the debunking of words and slogans that had been well-nigh sacred a few years before. Articles in influential journals whose authors went to extreme lengths to denigrate all Soviet art, drama and literature of the past twenty years evoked a lively response among youth.

Serious account was taken of these manifestations of nihilism at meetings of the party presidium during November and December. To judge, however, from the tone of a confidential letter to party members now in circulation, the Soviet leaders appear to be less perturbed by the restlessness of youth than by the inability of party propagandists to find a language that commands young people's attention. The letter calls for frankness and patience in replying to questions raised by youth. The right to raise questions is not denied; indeed, a frequent target of criticism in the youth press recently has been the "question suppressor." As an example to others, a number of Soviet leaders have recently addressed audiences of university students and factory youth, going out of their way to avoid stereotyped phrases and to give their listeners that "news behind the news" hitherto sought in foreign radio broadcasts.

Parenthetically, it may be noted that the Soviet student body is in an interesting stage of transition. The recent introduction of free universal secondary education has greatly increased the competition for higher education, which is no longer confined to children of parents who could afford to keep their youngsters at school until they are seventeen. This democratization is producing certain strains within the student body; the strains have been increased by the introduction this year of a system by which scholarships and grants are given only in cases of proved need.

A CLUE to the present mood of Soviet student youth is provided by the extraordinary popularity of Vladimir Dudintsev's controversial novel *Not By Bread Alone.** Two aspects of this book have particularly stirred youth—its attack on tightly-knit groups of influential people who, while paying lip-service to the cause of socialism, are in fact interested only in maintaining themselves in office, and its revelation of the inefficiency and waste caused by this group's ruthless suppression of young talent and bold innovation. The scientific workers, technologists and engineers of tomorrow who form the majority of the students of today are painfully aware of the fact that until management and administration are improved and the powers of the bureaucrats reduced, they are going to find themselves sharing Dudintsev's inventor-hero's sense of frustration. Their faith in the possibilities of science is enormous (it is perhaps the dominant feature in the youth mind today), but Soviet life in its everyday aspects does not inspire them with great confidence in the ability of the administration to make the best use of science. The present gap between the

*American edition to be published in late spring, by E. P. Dutton and Co.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world they are educated for and the world they live in is an important factor in the mentality of Soviet youth.

Hence their impatience, their desire to see "socialism given a chance" (as some of them say), their fierce resentment of privilege, their widely-expressed feelings that if they were given greater freedom to organize their own leisure activities they could greatly enrich their lives. There are other factors, too, in their make up: many feel resentful that their intelligence was insulted, their youthful enthusiasm abused, their patriotism wrongfully suspected during the Stalin period, and this has put them on their guard against anything which appears to them as a return to the past.

Perhaps the sculptress Vera Mukhina foresaw this new Soviet youth when, shortly before her death, she designed the figures of Soviet students for the approaches to the new university on Lenin Hills. Here is nothing of the ecstasy, the theatricalism of her pre-war group. Her young man and woman sit bowed over books, their brows furrowed in thought, their jaws taut with the effort of comprehension.

Letter from a Soviet Student

Following are extracts from a letter, written by a Soviet student, which appeared in the February issue of Forum, *an Austrian monthly. The English translation is by Helmut W. Bonheim.*

Moscow

NOVEMBER 30, 1956 is a memorable day for us Russian students; some say, a historic day. After Professor B. E. Syrojetschkowitch's required lecture on Marxism-Leninism [in Lomonossow University, Moscow] there followed the usual discussion, during which a student . . . posed a question of decisive importance, perhaps the question which will determine the destiny of our form of Marxism: How was it possible for a general strike to occur in a Socialistic state—to speak plainly, in the Hungarian People's Democracy—since a general strike against a workers' and peasants' goverment was impossible?

Professor Syrojetschkowitch was only able to give as an answer what we could read in our daily newspapers. For a discussion at the university level this was too little. He began to speak about the terror of Horthy-fascistic officers and diversionist Western imperialists, but his words were drowned in the protests of the students, who proved to him with a flood of Lenin quotations that he had not attempted to answer the actual question. . . . The discussion became noisy and confused and the professor preferred to withdraw. . . .

On the following day the notice boards of the Komsomol organization of the Lomonossow University carried hand-written sheets demanding an honest report and a frank discussion of the situation in Hungary. By lecture time, the notices had been removed, but their contents spread that morning from mouth to mouth.

At midday fresh notices were posted announcing a meeting of the Komsomol at which the "shameful" events of the previous day were to be discussed. The meeting took place in the Ostrowskij Clubroom and was opened by Linkow, the secretary of the Komsomol Organization. His first remark necessarily acted as a provocation to most of those present: he declared that it was the Komsomol's duty to avoid in the future "such excesses as had degraded the academic halls" the day before. The result was only that a new "excess" immediately developed. In a quickly improvised vote, "The Hungarian Question in the Light of Marxism-Leninism" was declared the only item on the agenda and thus the control of the discussion was wrested from the officers. The very first speaker spoke of an "over-bureaucratized system" which had estranged itself from the masses and was therefore trying to maintain itself with the methods of the recently unmasked Beria.

This referred to Hungary, but the comparison with the Soviet Union was obvious and was even . . . spoken of openly: if the conclusions reached by the Twentieth Party Congress are not followed up, must we not expect a similar development here and will not our workers rise one day under the banner of Lenin against those who have developed into their bourgeois, bureaucratic exploiters? When Linkow objected to these "anti-party sentiments," and tried to get the floor from the speaker, he encountered such vehement opposition among the students, that he left the hall together with his associates. But the discussion continued and even involved several activists of the Komsomol. . . .

On Decmber 3 the administration actually expelled 140 students because of "*chuliganstwo*" (rowdyism) and at the same time announced that the lectures on Marxism-Leninism would be suspended until after the New Year's holidays.

It was the first time in the history of the Moscow university that the administration found itself forced to suspend lectures because the teaching staff was not equal to dealing with questions which might arise in the discussions. The student body recognized in this a victory which they had bullied out of the Komsomol. Contrary to the expectations of the Komsomol secretaries, who counted on an ebbing of excitement, the discussions in the clubs and student quarters continued. . . .

The significance which the Komsomol attributed to the discussions at the university had the interesting result that similar discussions broke out in other places too. In the middle of December, the Komsomol activists of the Moscow army district were forced to convene in order to deal with similar developments in the garrison. We in Moscow also heard of occurrences at the Leningrad Universities. . . . Lively discussions are also in progress at the universities in Kiev, Charkov, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk and even in central Asia, in Taschkent.

Almost the whole of the Soviet youth has been seized by the wave of discussions. This is undoubtedly one of the most interesting political movements to have emerged since Stalin's death. Significantly enough, however, it was not started by the men in power, not "from above," but spontaneously and from within the Socialistic camp itself. Probably the solution to this movement will also have to be found within the Socialistic camp, a solution which those above can advance but can hardly hinder. . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Guide to Perfect Security

INTERNAL SECURITY MANUAL, REVISED. Compiled by Senator Alexander Wiley. Government Printing Office. 409 pp. $1.

Jay G. Sykes

IT IS RARE that a compilation of Federal laws published by the Government Printing Office turns out to be an historic document; this one is. To provide Americans with a "handy tool which they and their government must use in combatting subversive forces," Senator Alexander Wiley and staff have gathered together all laws, orders and directives defining and proscribing treason, communism, disloyalty and subversion. The resulting catalog is an awe-inspiring volume. Its most significant feature is that it contains 409 pages, most of which are filled with laws of the past twenty years. Deciphered, this manual is the account of a gradual, subtle, at times imperceptible journey toward the elusive goal of total security. In its prodigious aggregate, it tells the story of a true revolution, and provides a sobering perspective for those who believe that liberty was destroyed by a Senator named McCarthy and then restored with his political decline.

One may trace, for example, the evolution of our federal employee loyalty program. It requires careful attention to syntax, to semantic nuances, to subtle changes in definitions and standards. In the beginning, the Hatch Act (1939) merely made it unlawful for a federal employee to belong to an organization advocating the overthrow of our constitutional form of government. Then in 1941, the Civil Service War Regulation dropped the "reasonable grounds of disloyalty" standard for firing an employee and adopted the "reasonable doubt as to loyalty" criterion. A lawyer could readily appreciate the violence of this change, but who else not directly concerned could be expected to be disturbed by a word-and-a-half amendment? Thence to 1947 and Executive Order 9835 which institutionalized the loyalty program. The Attorney General's list was ordained, and loyalty investigators were authorized to consider "evidence of disloyalty" in FBI files, Military Intelligence files, files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; school, college, and employment records were decreed relevant. When Executive Order 10450 appeared in 1953, a new article of faith was announced: "Whereas the interest of the national security requires that all persons privileged to be employed in the Government shall be reliable, trustworthy, and of *complete and unswerving loyalty* to the United States. . . . "—a declaration of principle that brings to mind a passage from Hannah Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism*:

> Their (totalitarian movements') most conspicious external characteristic is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of individual members.

With Order 10450, also, precise acts of disloyalty were for the first time enumerated: establishing or continuing a "sympathetic association with a saboteur, spy, traitor, or anarchist, or with any group designated fascist, communist, or subversive." Order 10491 (1953) added another: invocation of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution before a Congressional Committee.

THE WILEY manual reminds us how unobtrusively the ramparts were built up to protect our unswerving loyalty. First, the Voorhis Act required the registration of "foreign-controlled" organizations; then the McCormack Act of 1938 compelled the identification of "foreign propagandists"; then in 1940 the Alien Registration Act, with its Section 2—the so-called Smith Act—outlawed conspiracies-to-advocate-overthrow-by-force-and-violence and added its lesser-known: "Whoever, with intent to interfere with, impair, influence the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the armed forces, advises, counsels, urges, or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty shall be guilty of a felony."

Formal bureaucratization came in 1950 with the Internal Security Act which created a Subversive Activities Control Board—though a subversive activity had not yet been officially defined—and created the potential enemy and the prospective crime: "Whenever a state of internal security emergency exists, the President, through the Attorney General, is authorized to detain each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person *probably will* engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of sabotage or espionage."

Once the superstructure was secured, the embellishments came quickly and easily. In 1954, the "communist-front" and the "communist-action" groups were, by amendment to the Internal Security Act, joined by the "communist-infiltrated" organization (defined as one which is directed by *past* members or supporters of the Communist Party or by persons who "have contributed to the impairment of the military strength of the United States to furnish logistical or other support required by its armed forces"). This amendment also requires all "communist-front" groups to register with the Attorney General all their "printing presses, rotary presses, platen presses, lithographs, mimeograph machines, and ditto or monotype machines." How reassuring Section 1-b: "Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize, require, or establish military or civilian censorship or in any way limit or infringe upon freedom of the press or of speech as guaranteed by the Constitution."

What must surely be the ultimate

JAY G. SYKES is a Seattle attorney and free lance writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

refinement in security legislation is the Communist Control Act of 1954 which directs juries to consider as evidence of Communist Party membership: whether the accused has "executed orders or directives of any kind on behalf of the Party; written, spoken, or communicated by signal, semaphore, or sign any order or directive of the Party; indicated by word, action, conduct, or writing or in any other way a willingness to carry out *in any manner* the plans, designs, objectives or purposes of the Party."

A striking feature—perhaps the most foreboding—of this quest for security is the application of the principle of presumptive-retroactive-prospective misconduct to our immigration and naturalization laws. Read the McCarran Act slowly. It excludes aliens believed by consular officials or by the Attorney General "to be seeking entry in order to engage in *prejudicial activities*" or who "*probably would* after entry engage in public disorder . . . or in any activities subversive to the national security." An alien who has been a member of a subversive group within ten years prior to his petition for naturalization is "presumed not to be attached to the principle of our Constitution" and is not eligible for naturalization. For the already naturalized, membership in a subversive group within five years after naturalization raises a "presumption that the person was not disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States at the time of naturalization," and may be grounds for denaturalization.

Thus are we reminded how we have come, with small steps, from outlawing force-and-violence, to jailing those who "conspire to advocate," then to proscribing "subversives" and registering printing presses. We began by outlawing espionage and treason, and have now come to investigating "sympathetic associations," looking for pro-Communist semaphores, and demanding unswerving loyalty. How did we come so far and so quickly—as legal revolutions go? Why was there no great stand? Milton Mayer may well have been answering these questions when he wrote of the decline of liberty in post-1933 Germany in *They Thought They were Free*:

> Each step was so small, so inconsequential . . . All the crises and reforms so occupied the people that they did not see the slow motion underneath . . . Each occasion is a little worse than the last, but only a little worse . . . You wait for one great shocking occasion thinking that others will join in resisting somehow. . . . But it never comes.

Military Model for America

THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations. By Samuel Huntington. Harvard University Press. 534 pp. $7.50.

Matthew Josephson

IF THE American public, in the cold-war decade, has occasionally felt anxiety over the mighty sway of our military bureaucrats, such feeling has been expressed only in desultory fashion and, at that, in rather limited circles. The ground of nearly all open debate over our atomic-age militarism has been narrowed by common acceptance of the bi-polar conflict as foreordained. It is assumed that the Russian and Chinese Communists are so infernally clever and "realistic" that they are determined to bring about nuclear war and mass-suicide in their own good time. No agreement for arms reduction is foreseeable; hence we must be just as "realistic" in raising the genocidal power of our military establishment. Most works of military "scholarship" that are issued nowadays under respectable and right-thinking auspices confine themselves, therefore, to questions of patching up the military organization here or strengthening it there. *The Soldier and the State* by Samuel Huntington, an instructor in government at Harvard, though having its own special mixture of brutal sophistries and naiveties, is based on the familiar set of assumptions mentioned above.

Nearly half of the work is devoted to an historical review of the evolution of large-scale military organizations and mass-war doctrine since Napoleon's time. The rehash of Clausewitz, Scharnhorst and St. Cyr offers us nothing new, except Mr. Huntington's discovery of the old professional officer corps of Prussia as the military ideal. Its virtue was that it was "unpolitical." Yet is not all military action, in itself, political, we ask with Clausewitz? Here Huntington also endeavors to define and explain the "military mind" and the military ethic —which "emphasizes the irrationality, weakness and evil in human nature . . . the importance of order, hierarchy, the nation state . . . the continuing likelihood of wars."

ALAS, too many Americans still cling to a "liberal," therefore false, world-picture; they hold to visions of man becoming more reasonable in the future, of war being abolished. Even among business men there is a small faction, typified by Mr. Weir of National Steel, which, disliking military controls, or craving lower taxes, or simply wishing to enjoy peaceful vices and pleasures, favors arms reduction and overtures to peace. What is worse, our old-fashioned democratic and constitutional form of government has long imposed the supremacy of civilian over military authority; the separation of powers in this country hampers the all-out military planners at many points. The streamlining of our government into the forms of a garrison state will clearly require much study and effort. Fortunately an improved equilibrium in civilian-military control seems to have been reached, according to Huntington, in the presidency of the soldier-diplomat, Eisenhower.

Yet too many ordinary patriotic Americans have what Veblen called a "plodding sense" of the rightness and wrongness of things. They see dimly that nuclear war, or preparation for it, may yield temporary advantages to a few, but in the long run not for the many. This creates tension again for the generals and flag-officers, and all their associated experts, planners and suppliers, who press for a maximum military power. The remedy, Mr. Huntington urges, is to have not less but *more* military professionalism of the nineteenth century German type, and to win popular acceptance of its austere ideals. He holds:

> A strongly integrated, highly professional officer corps, immune to politics and respected for its military character would be a steadying balance wheel in the conduct of policy.

Was it not because Hitler, as demagogue, overruled the old military profes-

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, author of The Robber Barons, *is at work on a study of the effects of our military establishment upon the national economy.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sionals that Germany came to grief in the last war? It is an erroneous belief, Huntington pleads, that the military specialists seek only war. On the contrary they are a force for "sanity, caution, realism" in Russia as well as in America. If the officer corps of the Red Army tames communism in Russia and their opposite numbers here make America more conservative they may likely get together (it is suggested on page 463) to keep the peace and enjoy long lives of good salaries, bureaucratic authority and retirement pensions. This is an original, in fact, paradoxical view of the military role, wholly inconsistent with the rest of Mr. Huntington's treatise, and he soon reverts to his ruling idea that we must make over America as a "fighting society."

What is needed, in order to bring about the fullest deployment of American military power, is really a change of heart among the civilians. Indeed, Mr. Huntington derives much hope for such a change from signs of the rising influence of publicists who preach the power-politics of the New Conservatism, such as Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans J. Morgenthau, and even T. S. Eliot.

> The requisite for military security is a shift in basic American values from liberalism to conservativism. Only an environment which is sympathetically conservative will permit American military leaders to combine the political power which society thrusts upon them with the military professionalism without which society cannot endure.

Do men fear the garrison state? Let us gladly go toward it, embracing "the military values America most needs today—loyalty, duty, restraint, dedication."

Mussolini's old slogan had more style: *Believe, obey, fight!*

The Novel in France

THE UNHEROIC HERO. By Raymond Giraud. Rutgers University Press. 240 pp. $5.

AN AGE OF FICTION. By Germaine Brée and Margaret Guiton. Rutgers University Press. 242 pp. $5.

Katherine Hoskins

THESE two books pretty well cover the "main stream" of the French novel from Stendhal to Camus.

In *The Unheroic Hero,* Dr. Raymond Giraud of Yale charts the rising tide of the bourgeoisie in France during the nineteenth century and its effect on the three great novelists of the period: Stendhal, nostalgic for a mythical eighteenth century; Balzac down in the cock-pit, admittedly corrupted; Flaubert, growling and at bay. Choosing one novel of each for special and painstaking analysis, he constates a somewhat ambiguous attitude on the part of his writers to their heroes and to the civilization of their day. In fact, the *Bourgeois* hero would be a more apt description of the general tenor of the book. And if he seems to have loaded the dice by his choice of novels—*Lucien Leuwen, César Birotteau, L'Education Sentimentale*—that is his privilege.

Dr. Giraud pleases by his conscientious documentation, but he often seems to mass his artillery against a citadel already invested. He finds it odd that his three authors should have dealt as they did with the milieux they wrote about because,

> However violently and harshly a writer attacked the bourgeoisie, he could not easily escape the central condition of his own life: He was a bourgeois too . . . On the other hand, through some quirk of fate, he had been fired with the ambition to enter a profession that, thanks to his romantic heritage, he thought was dedicated to values irreconcilable with those of his family, his class and his century. Bound to the bourgeoisie by his origin and by tastes and needs inculcated in him since childhood, such a writer felt himself split in many ways and prey to numerous disagreeable feelings of solitude, insufficiency, guilt, shame and resentment.

But when the most conformist child must revolt a little in order to grow up; how should not these for whom growing up meant creative eminence? The need is both simpler and more fundamental than "quirk of fate" or "romantic heritage" suggests; its demands something more than "disagreeable."

Later on, he quotes Flaubert, apropos of *L'Education Sentimentale,* "Just the anticipation of portraying bourgeois turns my stomach." And comments, "One would think that there were enough subjects to pick from without Flaubert's having to condemn himself to five more years of torment . . ." It would seem that Flaubert understood even if Dr. Giraud does not, both the fatal miasma of exotica and the necessity of most novelists to be immersed *in their own time and class, no matter* what they may think of them. Nor was it in Flaubert's aesthetic to abstract his characters from time in the way of poets and painters and thus, as Malraux said of Tintoretto, turn the (Venetian) diversś into angels.

THE EMPHASES of this book do, however, provide an interesting foreground to the one offered by Germaine Brée and Margaret Guiton. *An Age of Fiction* deals with the inheritors of the great bourgeois revolution and of its writers. More quiet in their own class, the writers of this period from Gide to Camus, can look out from it and see cruelty, vulgarity, cowardice (and their corresponding virtues) as the condition of man. In their extremely lucid introduction, the authors state that the French novel of the last five decades, "makes no pretense of offering an accurate description of reality . . .This novel is no more than a point of view on reality, perhaps only a means of pointing out the gap between literature and life, mind and existence, the human conciousness and the world in which it moves." The newer novelists, then, abstract and are at liberty to *traffic with angels*—or devils. As the authors point out, this is both a liberation and a limitation. Among a great many other things, Proust was the last great creator of characters that we "know" in the same scandalized and delighted fashion that our great-aunts knew their friends and enemies in Dickens.

Given the above definition of the twentieth century novel; how then, we wonder, was Duhamel included, or Romains; conversely, if everybody was to be forced to the same pattern, why leave out Colette and Rolland? Moreover, to deal with twenty-one names in the space of two hundred and forty-odd pages gives an effect of once over gracefully that not only weakens the authors' thesis but does scant justice to their very real gifts of interpretation and description. Half a dozen writers treated with the delicacy and thoroughness of which these critics are clearly capable would have served everyone better—with the possible exception of a procastinative French major faced with an examination. The paraphrase of almost any disquisition in *An Age of Fiction* would fetch an A.

It may be that shaft mining is not

KATHERINE HOSKINS has recently received a grant from Brandeis University for her new volume of poetry, Villa Narcisse.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any more the best way to work the literary field. For one professional novelist who produces, biennially, parts of a world, there are half a dozen writers who write perhaps one novel, maybe another, then maybe a play or turn their attention to other matters entirely. Gide, after all, wrote but two novels in the strict sense, but several récits or novelettes and his best work is an allegorical essay, *Thesée;* Cocteau wrote but one novel; Malraux wrote three or four and then went off to the plastic arts. It seems that placer treatment—lateral and international—might be rewarding, if only for a change. A comparison of forms, say, or even of subject matter. *The Counterfeiters* placed beside *Point Counter Point*: the récit in Gide's hands and in Faulkner's, and their common availability to motion pictures: the literature of flying—from Hardy boy to Mystic: or types—the sensitive drunk, the philosophic bum, those descendants under the rose of the Milord and the American Gentleman.

Our authors are by no means unobservant of these matters. And I can think of few better equipped to deal with them.

THEATRE

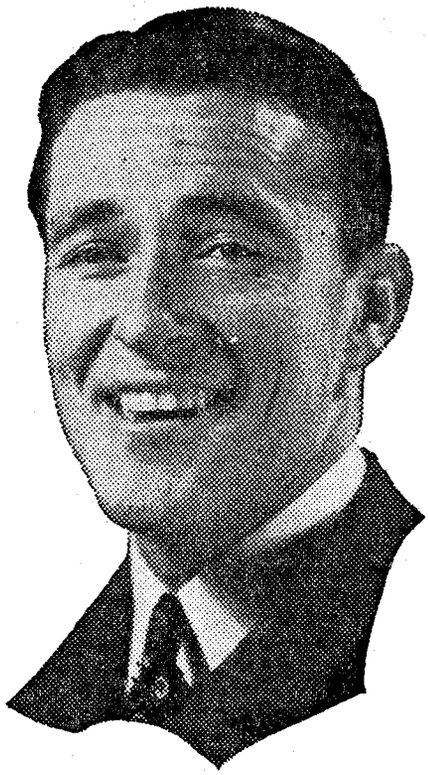
Robert Hatch

ONE CRITIC of *Orpheus Descending* (Martin Beck) is struck by its extreme bitterness; another finds that this revision by Tennessee Williams of an early work is noticeably less baleful than the plays he has been writing in recent years. It is a matter, I suppose, of whether the observer is more oppressed by exterior brutality or interior cruelty.

Orpheus Descending is social protest, almost a tract; it is as ugly as bigotry and as vicious as power in mean hands. It is also relentless. Williams loathes the vacuous bully-bosses of his rural South, and fears them. In his story the impulses toward life and generosity of spirit are overwhelmed; the law of ignorance is enforced by flaming gasoline and half-starved hound packs. Nevertheless, compared with such a work as *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, this play has almost a sunny disposition.

Orpheus, a vagrant folk singer, finds himself stranded in a town that is itself stranded. He becomes the sustaining son to an old woman who paints visions, the corrective brother to a girl who employs debauchery as protest, the lover of a wife married to hatred and death.

Do You Laugh Your Greatest Powers Away?



THOSE STRANGE INNER URGES

You have heard the phrase, "Laugh, clown, laugh." Well, that fits me perfectly. I'd fret, worry and try to reason my way out of difficulties—all to no avail; then I'd have a hunch, a something within that would tell me to do a certain thing. I'd laugh it off with a shrug. I knew too much, I thought, to heed these impressions. Well, it's different now—I've learned to use this inner power and I no longer make the mistakes I did, because I do the right thing at the right time.

This FREE BOOK will prove what your mind can do!

Here is how I got started right. I had heard about hypnosis revealing past lives. I began to think there must be some inner intelligence with which we were born. In fact, I often heard it said there was; but how could I use it, how could I make it work for me daily? That was my problem. I wanted to learn to direct this inner voice, master it if I could. Finally, I wrote to the Rosicrucians, a world-wide fraternity of progressive men and women, who offered to send me, without obligation, a free book entitled *The Mastery of Life.*

That book opened a new world to me. I advise *you* to write today and ask for your copy. *It will prove to you* what your mind can demonstrate. Don't go through life laughing your mental powers away. Use the coupon below or write: Scribe Z.P.T.

USE THIS GIFT COUPON

SCRIBE Z.P.T.
The Rosicrucians (AMORC)
San Jose, California

Please send free copy of *The Mastery of Life*, which I shall read as directed.

Name.....
Address.....
City.....State.....

The ROSICRUCIANS (AMORC)
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA • NOT A RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He is not a remarkable boy and he does not assume these roles deliberately, or even willingly; but he is alive and what still lives in the desert immediately responds to his presence. No one who lives survives; still they have recognized one another and they are a promise.

It is easy to say, and it is being widely said, that *Orpheus Descending* is discursive, indecisive, awkward as to its machinery. I could quote lines so ringing with philosophy that they were obviously written by a much younger Williams. But it is a great thing at a play to be able to take sides; to know that a war has been waged, that virtue spoke even though it did not prevail. Anger and sorrow are valid experiences in the theatre. The later Williams of *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* uses shock to induce audience reaction in a situation too extreme for allegiance.

It is hard to separate the vigor of *Orpheus Descending* from the vitality of Maureen Stapleton in the central role of a live woman among the cruel dead. She is so bold in her broad characterization, so precise in the enlightening details of manner, she shifts mood with such accurate pose and inflection, that you laugh aloud from the pleasure of such creative skill. Williams wrote a rich part in this Italian wench so improbably and unhappily cut off from decent joy, and Miss Stapleton embodies her magnificently.

Harold Clurman has built the production around her, which was the obvious thing to do. Less obvious was the construction of a supporting cast that would give her a wall to beat upon. The hateful and pathetic gargoyles of Southern lust, suspicion and vulgar gentility he establishes with quick, sharp statements from extremely apt performers. The difficult title role he keeps exceedingly quiet and uncomplicated. Cliff Robertson, who plays it, is a graceful young actor with what seem instinctive good taste and good ideas. He has as yet no great power, but he does have a stubborn presence that admirably supports Miss Stapleton's virtuosity. Boris Aronson has designed an intricate set that nevertheless looks open and untricky and on which the sweeping action can move without stumbling.

The play is ragged in spots, sententious in spots, but it is *about* something and cares about it—which makes it as welcome as spring in this winter of sterile theatre amusements.

ART

Maurice Grosser

THE WHITNEY MUSEUM offers until April 14 the work of thirty American painters and sculptors under thirty-five who are representative of present-day trends. Last month the American Institute of Arts and Letters showed the work of the thirty-five artists selected by the painter and sculptor members of the Institute as applicants for its annual grants. Both shows draw from the same pool, but were chosen according to different points of view.

The selecting committe of the Whitney contains no artists. The Museum is extremely sensitive to critical currents and is closely associated with the educational program of the Museum of Modern Art. The show it offers can be taken to represent an advanced critical and academic opinion—an official view of American contemporary painting from outside the profession.

The selecting body of the Institute, on the other hand, consists entirely of artists. Its choice represented another view of the same field, but this time from within. The two views have very little in common.

The Whitney's is the more arresting. Certainly its show is the more violent, due to the number of pictures whose theme is caricature and to the quantity of large, bright, non-objective pictures in the "action painting" style. The theory behind action painting, as it has been explained to me, is this: The real subject of a picture is not, as one generally thinks, a visual idea. The real subject is the muscular pleasure the painter takes in the unhampered motion of his brush. The spectator's pleasure in the resulting picture comes from his sympathetic motor responses to the bodily movements the painter has recorded. Consequently, action pictures must be large—to give the painter space for large and ample movements (This must be what the apologists for these severely two dimensional canvases mean when they praise the painter's "exploration of space")—and the paint put on must be heavy. In the present show, of the twenty-four painters represented, thirteen lie somewhere within this category, eight in that of caricature, one is a pure abstractionist, and two have a naturalistic subject matter, these figures including several borderline cases.

One has the impression that the pictures have been chosen from considerations of visibility rather than of subtlety, of wit rather than of visual idea, of brushwork rather than of color. This would account for their impact. Brushwork, visibility and wit in painting, like skillful orchestration in music, can be appreciated at once. Whereas subtlety of composition, harmony of color and interest of visual idea, like the beauty of a melodic line, take a certain amount of living with to be recognized.

Among the most interesting of the nonobjective paintings are those by John Levee—layer on layer of rich and creamy paint in very harmonious colors—and by Paul Jenkins whose decorative canvases resemble enlargements of the polished cross section of a mineral. Gerald McLaughlin, whom I place among the caricaturists, is perhaps the most entertaining. His cities (or battles or mob scenes, as you will) of tiny monsters—potato-like shapes, phallic and wiggling—are fascinating and appalling, and beautifully executed. Among the sculptors, caricature—as represented by Elbert Weinberg with his *Procession* of life size rabbis in full regalia, by Richard Stankiewicz with his personages welded together of old machine parts, and Paul Frazier, with his handsome *Dog Trying to Go to Heaven*—is more skillful and interesting than the abstract work displayed.

Except for action painting, caricature, and their intermixture there is not much of interest. The one pure abstractionist shown is thin and trite, and of the two representational painters who do not employ caricature, one is weak and the other inept and over-ambitious.

AT the Institute there was no such simple opposition. Caricature, in fact

Soft Hope

Year on rounded year
The damson plum tree
Reached into the earth for buds and
blossoms;
Year on year
The earth
Tightened
For the chaliced limbs.

Braced by soft hope one year
The tree
Bent
With April's snow.

Year on slanted year
It buds and blossoms
Bears fruit
Drops leaves.

ROSE HIRSHMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was almost entirely absent. One found instead the opposition which is most interesting to a jury of painters, that age-old problem of *the Painter and his model*—the opposition of style and subject matter.

I am sure that no one who does not paint himself can possibly understand the importance of subject matter to a painter. Subject matter, even if in the end it is entirely eliminated from the picture, is the germ which has made painting the picture possible. And stylization to a painter is almost synonomous with the act of painting. It is how the subject is to be got on canvas. So that it is not surprising that the pictures of this show, chosen by a jury of painters, range from the naturalistic to complete abstraction, with all the gradations between.

THE SHOW here was not as brilliant as the Whitney's. It was more uneven. But it had greater variety and contained a greater number of individually interesting pictures. The abstract works of Paul Burlin, John Von Wicht, and Kenzo Okada (whom I suppose to be classed among the action painters) are finer by far in color and in general elegance than corresponding pictures at the Whitney. A painter jury is apt to have a good eye. And the one painter present in both expositions, John Kinigstein, was represented here by much better pictures, in particular by a *Sicilian Altar*, with the saint glittering and dripping with candle light and gold, more accomplished than anything of his the Whitney shows. A work by Joe Lasker especially sticks in the mind: *Naples*, loaned by the Whitney, a composite view of the city done in the colors and textures of a Pompeian fresco.

A group exposition is almost bound to be a portrait of the jury that chose the pictures. A non-painting jury will select what it considers to combine the most striking with the most up-to-date. The most striking qualities today would appear to be violence and caricature. The artist jury selects pictures that it considers to offer contemporary solutions to the problem always facing the artist—the problem of presenting an idea in visual terms.

Both exhibitions contain many fine works. Their common weakness lies in the frequent exploitation of tricks—tricks of air brush, knife, spatter and drip, formulae of drawing and of stylistic evocation—employed more for their own sake than for any useful expressive purpose. Tricks such as these are what give both shows what they have of an "official" aspect. For, just as we apply slightingly "academic" to painting which pays undue reverence to things learned at school, so "official" has come to imply the incontinent exploitation of fashionable novelty.

MUSIC

Lester Trimble

THE METROPOLITAN OPERA, after giving Verdi's *Don Carlo* a one-season rest, revived the work in mid-March before a capacity audience.

This opera holds a position of special interest in the Metropolitan repertory, for it was the first luxurious new production sponsored by Rudolf Bing when he assumed his managerial post in 1950. Margaret Webster staged the opera and achieved results of an almost classic simplicity and order. Indeed, many of her arrangements are so formally poised that they seem like painted tableaux, cool, pastel and static, in which one or more characters have come to life. The costumes and sets, designed by Rolf Gérard, display an apposite delicacy of taste.

Don Carlo, however, remains an opera of rather specialized appeal. Carlo Gatti, Verdi's biographer, referred to its original five-act version as "long-winded" and "intolerably boring." In his more experienced years, Verdi reduced the work to its present, four-act form. But it is still more than a little tedious, even when Fritz Stiedry is its energetic conductor.

The static quality which Margaret Webster captured in her staging is present in the music and the drama as well. Verdi seldom achieved in *Don Carlo* the flights of melody which he attained in other operas. We are subjected to a sombre, horizontal flow of sound, much of it lovely, but attenuated. And when occasional lifts in melodic intensity do occur, they carry us from the second to the third floor—never to the roof.

Then, too, the tenor, title role has a peculiar dramatic pallor. For Don Carlo, despite his central position in the story, remains a pawn in the play of power and intrigue. Almost without exception, scenes in which he appears have their dramatic focus deflected to another character, most often to that of his intimate friend, Rodrigo. He does, it is true, draw sword in the second act and challenge the despotic authority of his father, Philip II. But even here, in a really crucial moment, he is peaceably disarmed and dissolves into a sort of boyish confusion. At other points, he is either in helpless upset over frustrated love for Elizabeth or planning verbally to do great things which fate decrees he shall not accomplish.

VOCALLY, however, there was nothing ineffectual about Jussi Bjoerling, he held forth as Don Carlo with all the silvery brilliance and muscularity of tone one associates with his most telling performances. Excepting Delia Rigal, whose portrayal of Elizabeth was a bit pale and even occasionally unsteady, each member of the cast contributed a top Metropolitan performance which is to say that the level would be hard to match elsewhere. Ettore Bastianini made a handsome Rodrigo, urbane and aurally rich. The American contralto, Irene Dalis, despite a bit of over-excitement (she was making her Metropolitan debut), drew attention to

B. H. HAGGIN

now reviews
the finest in recordings for
The NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19 St. NW, Washington 6, D.C.

Subscription — $7 a year

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach
THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for a weekend, fine enough for a season's stay. Luxury and comfort in a fireproof building. AIR-CONDITIONED and ELEVATOR-SERVICED . . . Unexcelled cuisine. Tops for sports. Nat Manners Orchestra; Benito & Gloria, dance team . . . Sophisticated entertainment.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N.Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449
In N.Y.C. Phone (local rate): FAirbanks 5-7227

Arrowhead LODGE ELLENVILLE NEW YORK
PASSOVER & EASTER
Entertainment staff — social, folk and square dancing, painting. Cha-cha instruction. Tennis, all sports.
Call between 12-2 6-8
CH 2-2453 Ellenville 502

SUMMER RENTALS

ADIRONDACKS. Modern housekeeping cottages. Linens, Dishes, Utilities supplied. Swimming, fishing in Sacandoga. Sports. Low seasonal rates. **Telephone: FO 5-6446.**

PERSONALS

DOWN WITH DIN!
NODS Ear Stops banish noise! Made of soft pink Goodyear Airfoam tipped with sound-absorbing wax, they **mold** to fit your ears to provide the most effective sound barrier known and the most comfortable. In use since 1940 for sounder sleep, noise-free reading and study. Fine for swimmers, too. **Guaranteed to please!** 3 prs. (4-month supply) $1.00 postpaid. 7 prs. (with travel vial) $2.00 ppd. **THE SLEEP LABORATORY, 186 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.**
LITE-FOIL Eye Shade bans disturbing lite! $1 ppd.

DEEP RIVER, Star Lake, 2 hrs. N.Y. 3½-4-5 room modern lakeside cottages. $550+. $550+. **Morganstern, LAmbert 6-2463 or N. Y. C. FA 4-9135 after 4 P.M.**

PRE-SEASON SPECIAL — 20" WINDOW FAN — Reversible and Portable. Original price $75.00 — **SPECIAL $32.50.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts)., N. Y. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking.**

SEW Aprons in your home, profitably. Write: **ADCO, Bastrop, Louisiana.**

GIRDLE & BRASSIERE DISCOUNT HOUSE 20% discount on your favorite standard priced girdle or bra. **Call LO 7-0687. Write: Box 418, c/o The Nation.**

HEALTH AND CULTURAL GROUP is now forming, for the purpose of developing the physical and intellectual powers. State age, educational background. **Box 422, c/o The Nation.**

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price. $9.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money-back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. **Steven N. Williams, Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.**

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
***The* NATION**
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

herself as the Princess of Eboli. Her voice and her person had a simply golden glow, and curtain calls brought her an ovation accorded to few debutantes. Cesare Siepi, as Philip II, gave a vocal characterization which, on the grounds of monumentality, ranges in one's memory beside the great impersonations of Moussorgsky's *Boris*.

It was therefore a matter of personal chagrin to note that, despite these extravagant appeals to eye and ear and this sumptuous display of musical wealth, I was moved to abstract admiration, but felt only a mild pleasure.

DAVID DIAMOND'S SIXTH Symphony was brought to Carnegie Hall recently by Charles Munch and the Boston Symphony Orchestra. It proved to be a searching, but not particularly "pretty" piece. Certainly, it was far removed from the composer's earlier, gentler music, and I am not at all sure that Diamond has subdued the insurgencies of this later style. The composition has the earmarks of a craftsman's revolt. The old tools have been tossed aside, but the new ones do not yet function smoothly. When they are made to do so, I suspect that Diamond's music will flow with the same internal strength, but with a bit more graciousness. It is evident that he seeks to make a succinct, original statement within a large format. And that, in itself, is admirable.

One of the most impressive aspects of this Symphony is the organic manner in which the composer has stated and employed his materials. Nothing gives the impression of being mere decoration or seasoning. The melodic material comes in great, organized gasps—almost brutal in their avoidance of surface prettiness. The colors (which are not always fetching in themselves) are flung onto the canvas in gobs and made to function structurally rather than cosmetically. The result is vaguely expressionistic, and despite the lack of actual exterior resemblance, I had the feeling that Diamond's message was not entirely removed from that of Berg's *Wozzek*. The last of the three movements is less convincing than the others, partly because a certain monotony of technique (and, perhaps, listener-fatigue) has set in by that time. But the explosive opening movement and its poignant successor are rich in substance and belligerently honest.

The Mozart A Major Clarinet Concerto, which followed the Diamond work, was played by Gino Cioffi of the Boston Orchestra's woodwind section. Neither it nor the Franck D Minor Symphony were up to the visiting group's usual standards. The latter work, particularly, was objectified to a degree which robbed it of all mystery. Unsentimental the playing was, and texturally clear. But it was also rather disenchanted. Franck emerged in certain spots as a sort of second-rate Mendelssohn; slightly banal, and tinged with Brahms and Wagner. Surely he was more distinctive than that.

Lent

Now as the flesh parts, weakened by the cold,
The season, probing, shivers on the bone:
Iron will enter, and the Lenten soul
will sepulchre behind a winter stone.

Yesterday, over the shoulder of a drift,
A sun-shaft struck a wellspring where the wind
Blustered the driveway clear. I felt it lift
An odor from the ground. The clearing burned;

Above, a travelling vector of brave geese
Drove to the northward and I felt a yearning
Crying beyond hearing, and I cried it cease—
I. knowing ice hard at the heart of burning.

Beyond the river other gathering flights
Wild with the lying rumor in their fledge
Made ruffling stir. How could they chance those heights,
As though their sense and season made a pledge?

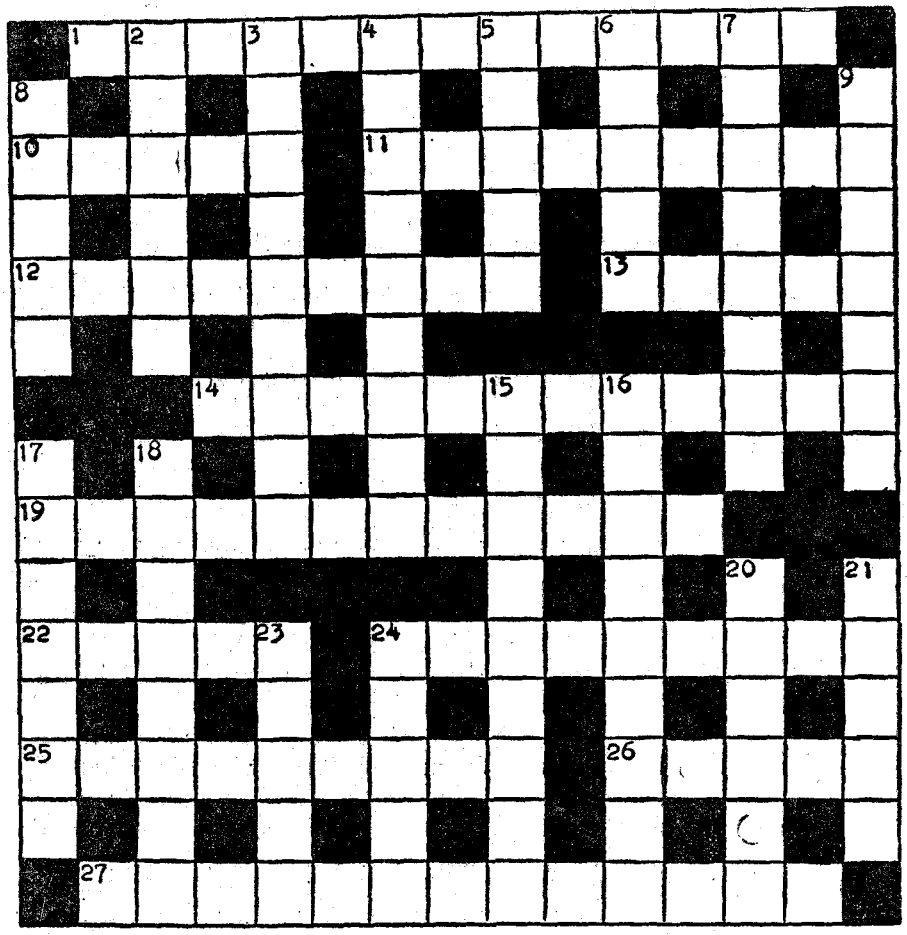
Yet equal with the clouds that pondered snow
They struck for altitude and northern ground,
Far beyond March, beyond whole years they go
In search of promise given, lost and found.

LOUIS O. COXE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 718

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 I often help his construction of what would hardly be one of the weaker vessels. (4, 2, 3, 4)
10 Coach, or mainly coaches? (5)
11 Melly Chlistmas! (9)
12 Memoranda rather than music probably contained therein. (9)
13 Get back at what Markham's man had here. (5)
14 and 2 down Evidently what the doctor presents is sanitary. (1, 5, 4, 2, 6)
19 and 22 across At such times does one wait for half-a-minute? (6-6,5)
24 His lot is not happy, according to Gilbert. (9)
25 It goes rather shakily with a twitch. (9)
26 The 19 sort aren't likely to be found in 12. (5)
27 It's certainly not compatible, and quite the opposite from a reputed jewel. (13)

DOWN:

2 See 14 across
3 Quiet Caledonian about the backbone of the river and bay. (9)
4 Look up! It's found inside flora, as a 10 across. (9)
5 Possesses scissors, bars, and locks, perhaps. (5)
6 Let the sound of it get the lowest degree. (5)
7 The result of a ten-penny withdrawal. (8)
8 Be sparing with the quantity of task assigned. (5)
9 Give in vassalage. (7)
15 They make the scene lack things of value, perhaps. (9)
16 Blake made songs of this. (9)
17 Began like the first-billed entertainer, Mr. Lewis. (7)
18 Certainly doesn't live up to the clue, as a fire sometimes does. (4, 4)
20 The meticulous physician has a rather drastic remedy for poisoning. (6)
21 What's in the pan is evidently related to the carrot. (5)
23 A number is about to go under in Ireland. (5)
24 Strokes. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 717

ACROSS: 1 RECOMMIT; 5 RANCOR; 9 STABLES; 10 WICHITA; 11 INFIDEL; 12 NOVENAS; 13 DICTATORSHIPS;; 15 ADMINISTERING; 21 LIBERIA; 22 REPLICA; 24 ROSTAND; 25 DESERT; 26 SWEEPERS. DOWN: 1 RUSKIN; 2 CHAFFED; 3 MELODIC; 4 and 23 across IT'S ALWAYS FAIR WEATHER; 6 ALCOVES; 7 CHIANTI; 8 REASSESS; 10 WIN, LOSE OR DRAW; 14 TALLOWED; 16 MOBCAPS; 17 NORTHER; 18 IMPASSE; 19 GRIMACE; 20. LANDIS.

PUBLICATIONS

Books from the U.S.S.R.

Just Arrived — In English

MORE ON THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

article from

Jen-Min-Jih-Pao

newspaper of the Communist Party of China

Now in pamphlet form

10 CENTS PER COPY

Special discounts for 50 or more copies.

RUSH YOUR ORDER TO:

Four Continent Book Corp.

822 Broadway, corner 12th Street

New York 3, N.Y. GR 3-2018-19

Book Bargains
FREE CATALOG
Any Book Located.
Send list. No obligation.
World Wide Book Service
525 Broadway — New York 12

"SPIT IN THE DEVIL'S EYE." reprint, Sarah Boyle article from "Nation," in December issue, "Social Questions Bulletin," official publication Methodist Federation for Social Action, unofficial fellowship celebrating this year its fiftieth anniversary. Free copy on request. Subscription $2 annually, 9 issues. Box 327, Gresham, Oregon.

RECORDINGS

SAVE ON ALL LP's

- Factory Fresh
- Including hard to get items
- Fast Service • Careful Packing

Write for free catalog

DISCOUNT RECORD SERVICE
Box 175, Radio City Sta., N. Y. 19

SALE: 78 R. P. M. RECORDINGS. Discontinued numbers. Free lists. Collections bought. E. Hirschmann, 98 Duncan Avenue, Jersey City, 6, New Jersey.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

Complete Personality Analysis from Your Handwriting
Fee $5.00
Alfred Kanfer
62 Leroy St., New York 14, N. Y.
Endorsed by scientific authorities, hospitals, insurance companies, colleges, psych. journals.
Receiver of research grants.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$70 WEEKLY—home, spare time. Simplified mail bookkeeping. Immediate income—easy! Auditax, 34757EA, Los Angeles 34.

BUY

UNITED STATES

SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Birth Day of a compelling idea . . .

As you read through this issue of *The Nation* some article is likely to strike home to you with such impact, you'd like to share its basic ideas in deep discussion with a friend whose opinions you respect.

Our point, then, is very simple. Why not let your friend share your enjoyment of reading *The Nation* regularly, as you do, by sending him a gift subscription?

Send it to him as an *advance* gift for his birthday, if you like. Better still—send it to him for what he'll get out of *The Nation* . . . the kind of probing, provocative writing that can't be found in any other magazine today. Because. . . .

> Our purpose is to examine the prevailing beliefs of the day. When these beliefs are so persuasive and so correct that there seems little need to comment, we leave their exposition to the mass-circulation magazines. But it frequently happens that there is another, unexplored side to a widely-held belief and we feel it is our function to examine such alternatives carefully, critically, intelligently.
>
> We believe in the freedom to inquire, to criticize, and to dissent—a quality that is becoming increasingly rare in American journalism. But from the editorial standpoint, *The Nation* does *not* dissent for dissent's sake; it dissents for a point and a purpose. Nor is it carping in tone or negative in outlook. On the contrary, *The Nation* constantly sets forth alternative programs and proposals—frequently records courageous actions and significant achievements.

Where else, for instance, could you have obtained the fact (post-demonstrated) that the Egyptians could operate the Suez Canal efficiently *without* the international pilots? (*The Nation,* Sept. 22, 1956). What other magazine is *not* afraid to say out loud that the 1957 American automobile is not precisely the "thing of beauty and joy forever" that they would have you believe from the ads? (*The Nation,* Dec. 22, 1956.) And again, what other magazine shatters myths as dispassionately as, for instance, *The Nation* did in its article on reforestation in our golden Northwest? (March 23, 1957.)

We continuously strive to make an intelligent analysis of the world around us . . . to make a point that you—and your friend—will absorb and relish. Why not send him a gift subscription today?

THE NATION

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14

Please send THE NATION

☐ One Year, $7 ☐ Three Year, $17
☐ Two Years, $12 ☐ 6 Months, $3.50

(Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE____ STATE_____

Sign Gift Card from _____

DONOR'S NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ Zone____ State_____

☐ I enclose payfent of $_____ ☐ Bill me

4-6-57

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED